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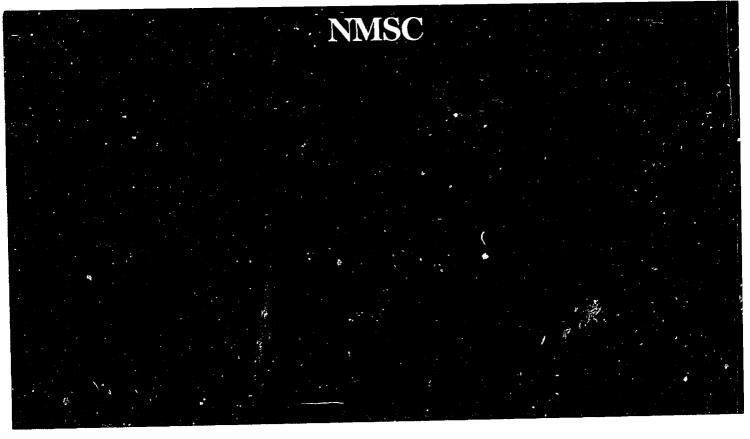
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#### ABSTRACT

This study provides migration trends for black and nonblack students who scored highest on the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test (NMSQT). The nonblack sample of 51,096 consisted of all those who had obtained an NMSQT score of 137 or above -- about 2 percent of all 11th graders obtain scores this high. The black sample of 8,162 included all who had obtained an NMSQT selection score of 90 or higher. Twelve geographical areas were used in studying the migration trends for nonblacks, while six were identified for Blacks. Migration was analyzed on the basis of place of birth versus place of testing. Migration trends were identified separately for students attending schools judged to be serving above average, average, or below average socioeconomic areas. (Author/AF)





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NATIONAL MERIT SCHOLARSHIP CORPORATION

# NATIONAL MERIT SCHOLARSHIP CORPORATION

Edward C. Smith, President

Donivan J. Watley, Director of Research

The National Merit Scholarship Corporation was founded in 1955 for the purpose of annually identifying and honoring the nation's most talented youth. Merit Scholarships, which are awarded on a competitive basis, provide financial assistance that Scholars use to attend the colleges of their choice.

The NMSC research program was established in 1957 to conduct scholarly research related to the source, identification and development of intellectual talent. NMSC Research Reports are one means of communicating the research program's results to interested individuals.

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# **ABSTRACT**

This study provides migration trends for black and non-black students who scored highest on a test of academic ability in competition for scholarships awarded by the National Merit Scholarship Corporation. The nonblack sample of 51,096 consisted of all those who obtained an NMSQT selection score of 137 or above--about 2% of all 11th graders obtain scores this high. The black sample of 8,162 included all who obtained an NMSQT selection score of 90 or higher. Twelve geographical areas were used in studying the migration trends for nonblacks, while six were identified for the blacks. Migration was analyzed on the basis of place of birth versus place of testing. Migration trends were identified separately for students attending schools judged to be serving above average, average, or below average socioeconomic areas.



# BRAIN GAINS AND BRAIN DRAINS: THE MIGRATION OF BLACK AND NONBLACK TALENT

# Donivan J. Watley

Each year thousands of families move. Some move to the next block or across town while others move out of the state or even out of the country. At the international level, the idea of "brain drain" emerged several years ago because of the nation's concern over its gains and losses of talent. In 1967 the National Science Foundation conducted a study of "Scientists and engineers from abroad, 1962-64" which revealed that 16,000 moved permanently to the U. S. during that period. Data were reported by country of origin and by discipline. In 1968 Congress investigated the inflow of talent into this country because of concern over the drain of scientific "brains" from the developing countries. The House Committee on Government Operations (1968) reported that the number of scientists, engineers, and physicians migrating to the U. S. from all foreign countries almost tripled from 1956 to 1967.

Gains and losses of brainpower is not only an international problem but is a concern at the regional, state, and local levels as well. The high rate of geographic mobility appears to be done so clearly at the expense of some areas where a substantial proportion of the top talent is being drained off. During 1960-66, for example, the colleges in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin awarded doctorates to over 23,000 people who got their first post-doctoral jobs in this time period. Only about 8,000 of them were employed in this five-state region, and only about 5,000 others were recruited from states outside this region to accept first post-doctoral employment (National Academy of Sciences, 19-67). This represents a substantial net loss to the region offering the doctoral education. State-supported institutions are particularly concerned about where their graduates find employment. Moreover, rural areas within states are disturbed over the loss of talent to the big cities, while the inner cities are concerned about the movement of affluent, talented, and educated families to the suburbs.

Although the Bureau of the Census reports data on migration trends in this country, detailed information on the state and regional brain gains or losses among high ability students is sparse. The purpose of this report is to indicate some of the migration trends that have occurred among the nation's most academically talented youth identified by a test of academic ability.



#### **METHOD**

# SAMPLES

Since 1955 the National Merit Scholarship Corporation has conducted the nation's largest private scholarship program. Approximately 750,000 students from about 17,500 high schools voluntarily participate in this annual nationwide scholarship competition. About 35,000 are blacks who compete not only for Merit awards but also for awards in the National Achievement Scholarship Program for outstanding Negro students. The high schools in which the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test (NMSQT) is given enroll about 95% of all eleventh graders in this country. Altogether, about 28% of all 11th graders take the NMSQT. The participating high schools report, however, that virtually all of their high ability students take the NMSQT (Nichols, 1969).

The samples of blacks and nonblacks used in this study were chosen from among the students who took the NMSQT in the spring of 1966. The nonblack sample of 51,096 consisted of all those who obtained an NMSQT selection score of 137 or above. Based on a national representative sample, about 2% of all 11th graders obtain scores this high. The black sample of 8,162 included all those getting NMSQT selection scores of 90 or higher. Approximately one-quarter of the blacks had scores that high. Since many more nonblacks than blacks take the NMSQT, it was necessary to use a larger proportion of the blacks in order to have a sufficient number available to obtain reasonably stable migration figures. In general, blacks do not get NMSQT scores as high as the nonblacks do.

Students were not asked to indicate their race when they took the NMSQT. Blacks were identified by their having marked on the NMSQT answer sheet that they wanted to be considered for Achievement scholarships for outstanding Negroes.

MIGRATION DATA

In addition to other biographical data, the state of birth was obtained from each student when he took the NMSQT. Migration was determined by cross-tabulating state or region of birth with the state or region in which a student was tested. Students are tested where they attend secondary school. From birth to time of testing covered a period of approximately sixteen years.

A total of 12 geographical areas were used in studying the migration trends for nonblacks. Any state that had 2,400 or more students with NMSQT selection scores of 137 or higher born within its borders was considered to have a sufficiently large number to provide reasonably stable trends. Five states met this requirement. New York (N=8,870) was followed by Illinois (3,896), Pennsylvania (3,640), California (3,608), and Ohio (2,986) in the number giving birth to high



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test scorers. Because of its geographic location, however, Hawaii's 188 high scorers were added to those of California to form a single group. The other seven regions were formed on the bases of states which seemed intuitively to belong together. Consideration was also given to the number of high scorers in the various states and to the desire to have enough states and regions to make the analysis meaningful while having a small enough number to be interpretively manageable. At least 2,400 "brains" were born in each region. The 12 states and regions are listed in Figure 1.

Region 1 West	Region 2	Region 3 New York	Region 4 Pennsylvania
California Hawaii	Illinois	New York	Pennsylvania
Region 5 Ohio	Region 6 Northwest	Region 7 Southwest	Region 8
Ohio	Alaska Colorado Idaho Montana Nevada Oregon Utah Washington Wyoming	Arizona New Mexico Oklahoma Texas	lowa Kansas Minnesota Missouri Nebraska North Dakota South Dakota
Region 9	Region 10	Region 11	Region 12
North Central	Southeast	Mid-Atlantic	Northeast
Indiana Michigan Wisconsin	Alabama Arkansas Florida Georgia Kentucky Louisiana Mississippi North Carolina South Carolina Tennessee Virginia West Virginia	Delaware District of Columbia Maryland New Jersey	Connecticut Maine Massachusetts New Hampshire Rhode Island Vermont

Fig. 1 States and regions for the nonblack "brains."



One question concerns the stability of the number of high scorers for the various states from year to year. To access this question the number of high scorers in each state was divided by the total number of high scorers in all states for each of the years 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, and 1965. The data for the different years were then intercorrelated. All of the correlations were above .99, indicating that the number of high scorers by state is quite stable.

Six regions were used for blacks because of the smaller number of Negroes involved. These are listed in Figure 2. There was a particular problem in finding sufficient numbers of high scoring blacks who were born in the Plains and New England states.

Region 1	Region 2	Region 3
West	Plains	Great Lakes
Alaska Arizona California Colorado Hawaii Idaho Montana Nevada New Mexico Oklahoma Oregon Texas Utah Washington Wyoming	lowa Kansas Minnesota Missouri Nebraska North Dakota South Dakota	Illinois Indiana Michigan Ohio Wisconsin
Region 4	Region 5	Region 6
Mid-East_	_New England	Southeast
Delaware District of Columbia Maryland New Jersey New York Pennsylvania	Connecticut Mairre Massachusetts New Hampshire Rhode Island Vermont	Alabama Arkansas Florida Georgia Kentucky Louisiana Mississippi North Carolina South Carolina Tennessee Virginia West Virginia

Fig. 2 States included in the regions for Negro "brains"



When the NMSQT was administered, an official at each school was asked to indicate on a separate form the "socioeconomic level of the area served by your school: high, above average, average, below average, or low." Migration trends were investigated in this study in terms of three socioeconomic levels: above average (high plus above average), average, and below average (below average and low combined).

An important point is that the NMSQT is taken by students in their state or region of residence. Except with boarding school students, who often attend school out of state, the NMSQT is virtually always given to students in their state of residence. Proportionally few of the high scorers in this study were attending boarding schools.

# ANALYSES

Several investigators (e.g., Shryock, 1964; Linder, 1969) have discussed different methods for measuring population change. In this study, in addition to cross-tabulations of state (or region) of birth by state (or region) in which the NMSQT was taken, other analyses were done on the basis of loyalists, recruits, and defectors. A loyalist was one who took the NMSQT in his state of birth. Based on the place of testing, a recruit was one changed to a state or region that was different from his place of birth. Based on place of birth, a defector was a person who changed from his state or region of birth to a different state or region. The McNemar change test (1955, pp. 56-57) was used to evaluate the net change (recruits - defectors) that occurred for each state or region. Separate analyses were done according to the socioeconomic level (high, average, or low) of the area served by the schools that these "brains" attended.

**RESULTS** 

# NONBLACKS

Table 1 presents migration information for the total sample of 51,096 "brains." Separate tables are not shown for males and females because family moves are seldom dictated by the sex of children and because more stable trends can be determined here with the boys and girls combined. Focusing on state or region of birth, Table 1 gives information on the whereabouts of the defecting "brains" at the time of testing. By looking at states and regions at the time of testing it can be seen where their recruits were obtained.

The West and Northeast were the most successful in keeping high scorers that were born in their regions—about 80% were loyalists—while the Mid-Atlantic region lost about one-third of those born in its area. The Southeast was the biggest gainer of those leaving the Mid-Atlantic region. Although the Mid-

Table 1

The Number and Percentage of Nonblack "Brains" who were Born and Tested in the Different States and Regions\*

State or					State	or Regio	on of Te	sting					
Region of Birth	w	IL	NY_	PA	0Н _	NW	sw	Plains	N. Cen <u>.</u>	SE	Mid- Atlan.	NE	Total Born
West	3,059 80.6 64.7	34 .9 1.0	62 1.6 .8	27 .7 .8	22 .6 .8	144 3.8 5.0	95 2.5 3.6	53 1.4 1.1	38 1.0 1.0	120 3.2 2.2	70 1.8 1.6	72 1.9 1.5	3,796
Illinois	152 3.9 3.2	2,813 72.2 79.2	67 1.7 .9	41 1.1 1.2	47 1.2 1.6	68 1.7 2.4	84 2.2 3.2	121 3.1 2.6	204 5.2 5.1	140 3.6 2.6	95 2.4 2.2	64 1.6 1.4	3,896
New York	174 2.0 3.7	62 .7 1.7	6,809 76.8 86.7	157 1.8 4.6	65 .7 2.3	55 .6 1.9	73 .8 2.7	53 .6 1.1	63 .7 1.6	226 2.5 4.2	594 6.7 13.7	539 6.1 11.4	8,870
Pennsylvania	80 2.2 1.7	38 1.0 1.1	128 3.5 1.6	2,677 73.5 79.1	97 2.7 3.4	22 .6 .8	40 1.1 1.5	27 .7 .6	46 1.3 1.2	143 3.9 2.6	254 7.0 5.9	88 2.4 1.9	3,640
Ohio	97 3.2 2.1	64 2.1 1.8	49 1.6 .6	64 2.1 1.9	2,213 74.1 76.7	37 1.2 1.3	43 1.4 1.6	39 1.3 .8	110 3.7 2.8	143 4.8 2.6	72 2.4 1.7	55 1.8 1.2	2,986
Northwest	279 9.8 5.9	39 1.4 1.1	38 1.3 .5	19 .7 .6	24 .8 .8	2,044 72.0 71.6	88 3.1 3.3	116 4.1 2.5	34 1.2 .9	82 2.9 1.5	35 1.2 .8	41 1.4 .9	2,839
Southwest	132 5.4 2.8	30 1.2 .8	41 1.7 .5	18 .7 .5	22 .9 .8	76 3.1 2.7	1,753 72.1 65.8	85 3.5 1.8	35 1.4 .9	150 6.2 2.8	46 1.9 1.1	43 1.8 .9	2,431
Plains	200 3.9 4.2	145 2.8 4.1	51 1.0 .7	46 .9 1.4	61 1.2 2.1	192 3.7 6.7	152 2.9 5.7	3,923 75.5 82.9	137 2.6 3.4	171 3.3 3.2	49 .9 1.1	67 1.3 1.4	5,194
North Central	159 3.7 3.4	166 3.9 4.7	82 1.9 1.0	40 .9 1.2	116 2.7 4.0	72 1.7 2.5	89 2.1 3.3	151 3.6 3.2	3,128 73.5 78.7	129 3.0 2.4	62 1.5 1.4	59 1.4 1.3	4,253
Southeast	159 3.2 3.4	79 1.6 2.2	108 2.2 1.4	79 1.6 2.3	112 2.3 3.9	74 1.5 2.6	178 3.6 6.7	100 2.0 2.1	101 2.1 2.5	3,608 73.6 66.6	197 4.0 4.5	105 2.1 2.2	4,900
Mid-Atlantic	140 3.4 3.0	49 1.2 1.4	239 5.9 3.0	139 3 4 4.1	62 1.5 2.1	39 1.0 1.4	39 1.0 1.5	41 1.0 .9	47 1.2 1.2	356 8.7 6.6	2,721 66.7 62.8	208 5.1 4.4	4,080
Northeast	100 2.4 2.1	33 .8 .9	176 4.2 2.2	79 1.9 2.3	44 1.0 1.5	33 .8 1.2	32 .8 1.2	25 .6 .5	30 .7 .8	150 3.6 2.8	138 3.3 3.2	3,371 80.1 71.5	4,211
Total Tested	4,731	3,552	7,850	3,386	2,885	2,856	2,666	4,734	3,973	5,418	4,333	4,712	51,096

<sup>\*</sup> The top percentage in each cell refers to the state or region of birth and should be read across the table; the bottom percentage in each cell refers to the state or region of testing and should be read down the column.



Atlantic region had a high percentage of defection, about 37% of those tested there were recruited elsewhere. Thus considerable turnover occurred. Other trends may be seen by looking carefully at Table 1.

Additional information is given in Table 2 about each area's net gains or losses. Here it can be seen that by far the greatest concentration of nonblack high test scorers is in New York. About 17% of the entire sample was born in this single state. Although holding about three-quarters of its "brains," New York suffered the most severe loss of talent, in terms of numbers, to other regions. A glance at Table 1 indicates, however, that most of the defectors did not move far. Altogether, about 13% of those born in New York moved to the nearby Mid-Atlantic and Northeast regions, probably reflecting the movement away from urban to suburban areas. California and Hawaii, on the other hand, not only had an 81% loyalist figure, but that area was easily the biggest gainer of talent in terms of recruits minus defectors. The Southeast also did well in this giant talent exchange, while the Plains region did not.

Overall, about 25% of these "brains" changed areas of residence between birth and the time of testing. This figure apparently was not significantly affected by boarding school students, since only 1,555 (about 3%) of these high scorers were attending a school of this type. Of this number about half attended boarding schools in the Northeast region, and 276 indicated that they were born in that same region. The second region with the largest number of boarding school students was the Southeast, but it too drew heavily from its own area—about 60% coming from that region.

Table 3 reveals that the rate of movement--almost 30%--was higher for "brains" who attended schools serving areas that were above average socioeconomically than was the overall percentage (25%) who changed states or regions. California again did well as did the Southwest region. The Northeast also did well in obtaining new recruits but in this case the gains were heavily influenced by the addition of boarding school students. New York lost heavily in this migration exchange.

In contrast to the 30% migration figure for students from schools serving above average socioeconomic areas, only 20% of the students from average socioeconomic areas and 17% from below average areas changed states or regions. When Tables 4 and 5 are compared with Table 3, a number of different trends can be observed that are particularly characteristic of the various states and regions. There was a clear migration trend toward the west--California's gains were substantial regardless of the socioeconomic level of the school area; the Southwest



Table 2

Migration of Nonblack "Brains" among the Different States and Regions in Terms of Loyalists, Recruits, and Defectors

ois 'ork 'y I vania	% of Total for all Regions 7.4	2				וופרו חורט	20100	cilalige lest			יסנפי יום ייספים יוו ייספים
nois 'ork 'y'lvania	7.4	-	% of Total Born in Region	z	% of Total Born in Region	Z	% of Total Born in Region	Critical Ratio	z	% of Total Born in Region	% of Total all Regions
nois 'ork :ylvania	7.6	3,059	80.6	1,672	44.0	+ 935	24.6	19.05*	4,731	124.6	9.3
ʻork ;ylvania		2,813	72.2	739	19.0	- 344	8.8	8.06*	3,552	91.2	7.0
ylvania	4./-	6,809	76.8	1,041	11.7	-1,020	11.5	18.31	7,850	88.5	15.4
	7.1	2,677	73.5	709	19.5	- 254	7.0	6.21*	3,386	93.0	9.9
0hio 2,986	5.8	2,213	74.1	672	22.5	- 101	3.4	2.66**	2,885	9.96	5.6
Northwest 2,839	5.6	2,044	72.0	812	28.6	+ 17	9.	.42	2,856	100.6	5.6
Southwest 2,431	8.4	1,753	72.1	913	37.6	+ 235	9.7	5.89*	2,666	109.7	5.2
Plains 5,194	10.2	3,923	75.5	811	15.6	094 -	8.9	10.08*	4,734	91.1	9.3
North Central 4,253	8.3	3,128	73,5	845	19.9	- 280	9.9	6.31*	3,973	93.4	7.8
Southwest 4,900	9.6	3,608	73.6	1,810	36.9	+ 518	9.01	9.30*	5,418	110.6	9.01
Mid-Atlantic 4,080	8.0	2,721	66.7	1,612	39.5	+ 253	6.2	4.64*	4,333	106.2	8.5
Northeast 4,211	8.2	3,371	80.1	1,341	31.8	+ 501	11.9	10.73*	4,712	111.9	9.2
Total 51,096		38,119	9.47	12,977	25.4				51,095		

 $^{\star}$  Significant at the .001 level.  $^{\star\star}$  Significant at the .01 level.

Table 3

Migration of Nonblack "Brains" who Attended Schools Serving Above Average Areas Socioeconomically

Bori	Born	Born in Region	Ļ	Loyalists	Rec	Recruits	Net (Recruits	Net Change (Recruits - Defectors)	Change Test	Tota	Total Tested in Region	Region
	-	% of Total for all	2	% of Total Born in	;	% of Total Born in	· =	% of Total Born in	Critical Datio	2	% of Total Born in	% of Total all
	z	reg ions	2	uegioni Megioni	2	io fau	2	Negron	01784	=	5	B
West	2,070	7.6	1,606	9.77	910	0.44	944+	21.5	12.03*	2,516	121.5	9.3
Illinois	2,191	8.1	1,537	70.2	477	21.8	-177	8.1	5.26*	2,014	91.9	7.4
New York	5,100	18.8	3,691	72.4	229	13.3	-732	14.4	16.03*	4,368	85.6	16.1
Pennsylvania	1,723	6.3	1,149	66.7	447	25.9	-127	7.4	3.98*	1,596	92.6	5.9
0hio	1,493	5.5	987	66.1	351	23.5	-155	10.4	5.30*	1,338	9.68	6.4
Northwest	1,369	5.0	907	66.3	433	31.6	- 29	2.1	.99	1,340	97.9	6.4
Southwest	1,362	5.0	992	72.8	586	43.0	+216	15.9	6.99*	1,578	115.9	5.8
Plains	2,492	9.2	1,770	71.0	458	18.4	-264	9.01	7.69*	2,228	4.68	8.2
North Central	2,136	7.9	1,482	4.69	494	21.7	-190	8.9	5.68*	1,946	91.1	7.2
Southeast	2,521	9.3	1,789	71.0	1,127	44.7	+395	15.7	9.16*	2,916	115.7	10.7
Mid-Atlantic	2,510	9.2	1,586	63.2	1,150	45.8	+226	9.0	4.96*	2,736	109.0	10.1
Northeast	2,226	8.2	1,702	76.5	915	41.1	+391	17.6	10.31*	2,617	117.6	9.6
Total	27,193		19,198	70.6	7,995	29.4				27,193		

\* Significant at the .001 level.

Table 4

Migration of Nonblack "Brains" who Attended Schools Serving Average Areas Socioeconomically

Regions         % of Total		Born	Born in Region	Lo	Loyalists	Re	Recruits	Net (Recruits	Net Change (Recruits - Defectors)	Change Test	Tota	Total Tested in Region	Region
ois         1,108         5.7         889         80.2         512         46.2         +293         26.4         10.84*         1,401           ois         1,386         7.1         1,048         75.6         219         15.8         -119         8.6         5.04*         1,267           ork         2,991         15.3         2,493         83.4         297         9.9         -201         6.7         7.13*         2,753           ylvania         1,641         8.4         1,322         80.6         222         13.5         -97         5.9         4.17*         1,264         1,264           west         1,266         6.5         1,043         82.4         276         21.8         +53         4.2         2.37**         1,544           west         1,266         6.5         1,043         82.4         276         21.8         +75         4.2         2.37**         1,544           s         1,266         6.5         1,643         82.1         276         21.8         4.2         2.37**         1,544           west         894         4.6         639         71.5         278         31.1         4.2         2.2 <th< th=""><th></th><th>z</th><th>% of Total for all Regions</th><th>z</th><th></th><th>z</th><th>% of Total Born in Region</th><th>z</th><th>% of Total Born in Region</th><th>Critical Ratío</th><th>z</th><th>% of Total Born in Region</th><th>% of Total all Regions</th></th<>		z	% of Total for all Regions	z		z	% of Total Born in Region	z	% of Total Born in Region	Critical Ratío	z	% of Total Born in Region	% of Total all Regions
ois         1,386         7.1         1,048         75.6         219         15.8         -119         8.6         5.04**         1,267           ork         2,991         15.3         2,493         83.4         297         9.9         -201         6.7         7.13*         2,733           ylvania         1,641         8.4         1,322         80.6         222         13.5         - 97         5.9         4.17*         1,544           west         1,266         6.5         1,043         82.4         276         21.8         + 53         4.2         2.37**         1,584           west         894         4.6         6.3         7.5         7.7         + 76         6.3         2.17**         1,584           s         2,304         11.8         1,846         80.1         308         13.4         + 15         5.6         1.00         . 917           ceast         1,986         9.3         1,418         78.5         334         18.5         - 54         3.0         2.04**         1,401           seat         1,530         8.1         1,005         75.4         3.6         5.1         2.5         4.1         2.5         <	West	1,108	5.7	889	80.2	512	46.2	+293	26.4	10.84*	1,401	126.4	7.2
ork         2,991         15.3         2,493         83.4         297         9.9         -201         6.7         7.134         2,733           vylvania         1,641         8.4         1,322         80.6         222         13.5         - 97         5.9         4.17*         1,544           west         1,266         6.5         1,043         82.4         276         21.8         + 53         4.2         2.37***         1,549           west         1,212         6.2         952         78.5         27.7         + 76         6.3         3.11*         1,584           west         894         4.6         639         71.5         278         31.1         + 23         2.6         1,00         9.1         1,288           s         2,304         11.8         1,846         80.1         30.8         13.4         -150         6.5         5.42**         2,154           central         1,806         9.3         1,418         78.5         334         18.5         -54         3.0         2.01**         1,752           seast         1,986         10.2         1,549         78.6         29.7         + 68         5.1         2.53** <td>Illinois</td> <td>1,386</td> <td>7.1</td> <td>1,048</td> <td>75.6</td> <td>219</td> <td>15.8</td> <td>-119</td> <td>9.8</td> <td>5.04∻</td> <td>1,267</td> <td>91.4</td> <td>6.5</td>	Illinois	1,386	7.1	1,048	75.6	219	15.8	-119	9.8	5.04∻	1,267	91.4	6.5
ylvania         1,641         8.4         1,322         80.6         222         13.5         - 97         5.9         4.17*         1,544           west         1,266         6.5         1,043         82.4         276         21.8         + 53         4.2         2.37***         1,319           west         1,212         6.2         952         78.5         336         27.7         + 76         6.3         3.11*         1,288           west         894         4.6         639         71.5         278         31.1         + 23         2.6         1.00         917           s         2,304         11.8         80.1         308         13.4         - 150         6.5         5.42*         2,154           central         1,806         9.3         1,418         78.5         334         18.5         - 54         3.0         2.01**;         1,752           ceast         1,986         10.2         1,549         78.6         29.5         + 149         7.5         4.66*         2,135           clast         1,590         8.1         1,328         83.5         221         13.9         - 41         2.6         1.8         1,401	New York	2,991	15.3	2,493	83.4	297	9.9	-201	6.7	7.13*	2,793	93.3	14.3
Host         1,266         6.5         1,043         82.4         276         21.8         + 53         4.2         2,37**         1,319           West         1,212         6.2         952         78.5         336         27.7         + 76         6.3         3.11*         1,288           West         894         4.6         639         71.5         278         31.1         + 23         2.6         1.00         . 917           s         2,304         11.8         1,846         80.1         308         13.4         -150         6.5         5.42*         2,154           ceast         1,806         9.3         1,418         78.5         334         18.5         - 54         3.0         2.01**         1,752           ceast         1,986         10.2         1,549         78.0         586         29.5         +149         7.5         4.66*         2,135           Atlantic         1,333         6.8         1,005         75.4         396         29.7         +68         5.1         2,53**         1,401           ceast         1,590         8.1         1,328         83.5         20.4         -41         2.6         11.8	Pennsylvania	1,641	8.4	1,322	90.6	222	13.5	- 97	5.9	4.17*	1,544	94.1	en i
1,212         6.2         952         78.5         336         27.7         + 76         6.3         3.11*         1,288           894         4.6         639         71.5         278         31.1         + 23         2.6         1.00         , 917           2,304         11.8         1,846         80.1         308         13.4         -150         6.5         5.42*         2,154           1,806         9.3         1,418         78.5         334         18.5         - 54         3.0         2.01**;         1,752           1,986         10.2         1,549         78.0         586         29.5         +149         7.5         4.66*         2,135           1,333         6.8         1,005         75.4         396         29.7         + 68         5.1         2.53**         1,401           1,590         8.1         1,328         83.5         221         13.9         - 41         2.6         1.87         1,549           19,517         15,517         15,517         19,517         19,517         19,517	Ohio	1,266	6.5	1,043	82.4	276	21.8		4.2	2.37**	1,319	104.2	6.8
894       4.6       639       71.5       378       31.1       + 23       2.6       1.00       , 917         2,304       11.8       1,846       80.1       308       13.4       -150       6.5       5.42*       2,154         1,806       9,3       1,418       78.5       334       18.5       -54       3.0       2.01**       1,752         1,986       10.2       1,549       78.0       586       29.5       +149       7.5       4.66*       2,135         1,333       6.8       1,005       75.4       396       29.7       +68       5.1       2.53**       1,401         1,590       8.1       1,328       83.5       221       13.9       -41       2.6       1.87       1,549         19,517       15,532       79.6       3,985       20.4       13.9       141       2.6       1.87       19,517	Northwest	1,212	6.2	952	78.5	336	27.7	+ 76	6.3	3.11*	1,288	106.3	9.9
2,304       11.8       1,846       80.1       308       13.4       .150       6.5       5.42*       2,154         1,806       9.3       1,418       78.5       334       18.5       - 54       3.0       2.01**;       1,752         1,986       10.2       1,549       78.0       586       29.5       +149       7.5       4.66*       2,135         1,333       6.8       1,005       75.4       396       29.7       + 68       5.1       2.53***       1,401         1,590       8.1       1,328       83.5       221       13.9       - 41       2.6       1.87       1,549         19,517       15,532       79.6       3,985       20.4       1.50       19,517	Southwest	894	4.6	639	71.5	278	31.1	+ 23	2.6	1.00	. 917	102.6	4.7
1,806       9.3       1,418       78.5       334       18.5       - 54       3.0       2.01**, 1,752         1,986       10.2       1,549       78.0       586       29.5       +149       7.5       4.66*       2,135         1,333       6.8       1,005       75.4       396       29.7       + 68       5.1       2.53**       1,401         1,590       8.1       1,328       83.5       221       13.9       - 41       2.6       1.87       1,549         19,517       15,532       79.6       3,985       20.4       19,517       19,517	Plains	2,304	11.8	1,846	80.1	308	13.4	-150	6.5	5.42%	2,154	93.5	11.0
1,986     10.2     1,549     78.0     586     29.5     +149     7.5     4.66*     2,135       1,333     6.8     1,005     75.4     396     29.7     + 68     5.1     2.53***     1,401       1,590     8.1     1,328     83.5     221     13.9     - 41     2.6     1.87     1,549       19,517     15,532     79.6     3,985     20.4     19,517	North Central	1,806	9,3	1,418	78.5	334	18.5	- 54	3.0	2.01*	1,752	97.0	9.0
1,333 6.8 1,005 75.4 396 29.7 + 68 5.1 2.53** 1,401 1 1,590 8.1 1,328 83.5 221 13.9 - 41 2.6 1.87 1,549 19,517 15,532 79.6 3,985 20.4	Southeast	1,986	10.2	1,549	78.0	586	29.5	+149	7.5	4.66*	2,135	107.5	10.9
1,590 8.1 1,328 83.5 221 13.9 - 41 2.6 1.87 1,549 1 19,517 15,532 79.6 3,985 20.4	Mid-Atlantic	1,333	8.9	1,005	75.4	396	29.7	+ 68	5.1	2.53**	1,401	105.1	7.2
19,517 15,532 79.6 3,985 20.4	Northeast	1,590	8.1	1,328	83.5	221	13.9		2.6	1.87	1,549	4.76	7.9
	Total	19,517		15,532	79.6	3,985	20.4				19,517		

\* Significant at the .001 level. \*\* Significant at the .05 level.



Table 5

Migration of Nonblack "Brains" who Attended Schools Serving Below Average Areas Socioeconomically

Mest         197 Call         % of Total	Born	Born	Born in Region	Loy	Loyalists	Rec	Recruits	Net (Recruits	Net Change (Recruits - Defectors)	Change Test	Tota	Total Tested in Region	Region
nois         197         8.8         171         86.8         79         40.1         +53         26.9         5.17*         250           nois         109         4.8         76         69.7         17         15.6         -16         14.7         2.26****         93           ylvania         204         94.8         41         13.2         +24         7.7         3.15**         33           ylvania         204         9.1         163         79.9         15         7.4         -26         12.7         3.47*         178           west         174         7.7         139         79.9         18         20.2         +1         1.1         1.1         1.29         164           west         174         7.7         139         79.9         25         14.4         -10         5.7         1.29         164           west         115         5.1         92         80.0         41         35.7         +18         15.7         2.25****         13           reart         269         13.5         12.2         3.2         1.2         3.2         3.2         3.2         3.2         3.2           reat		z	% of Total for all Regions	z		z	% of Total Born in Region	z	% of Total Born in Region	Critical Ratio	z	% of Total Born in Region	% of Total all Regions
rois         109         4.8         76         69.7         17         15.6         -16         14.7         2.26***         93           rork         311         13.8         294         94.5         41         13.2         +24         7.7         3.15**         335         135           sylvania         204         9.1         163         79.9         15         7.4         -26         12.7         3.47*         178         178           sylvania         204         9.1         163         79.9         15         7.4         -26         12.7         3.47*         178 <th>West</th> <th>197</th> <th>8.8</th> <th>171</th> <th>86.8</th> <th>79</th> <th>40.1</th> <th>+53</th> <th>26.9</th> <th>5.17*</th> <th>250</th> <th>126.9</th> <th>11.1</th>	West	197	8.8	171	86.8	79	40.1	+53	26.9	5.17*	250	126.9	11.1
cork         311         13.8         294         94.5         41         13.2         +24         7.7         3.47%         335         178           sylvania         204         9.1         163         79.9         15         7.4         -26         12.7         3.47%         178           west         174         7.7         139         79.9         18         20.2         + 1         1.1         1.1         1.1         1.1         1.1         90         1           west         174         7.7         139         79.9         25         14.4         -10         5.7         1.29         164           west         175         5.1         92         80.0         41         35.7         + 18         15.7         2.25****         133         1           1s         3.0         13.5         83.9         37         12.2         -12         3.9         1.29         2.25***         133         1         1         1         1         1         2         1         2         2         2         2         3         3         3         3         3         3         3         3         3         3	Illinois	109	4.8	9/	69.7	17	15.6	-16	14.7	2.26***	93	85.3	4.1
sylvania         204         9.1         163         79.9         15         7.4         -26         12.7         3.47*         178           west         40         72         80.9         18         20.2         + 1         1.1         .17         90         1           west         174         7.7         139         79.9         25         14.4         -10         5.7         1.29         164           west         115         5.1         92         80.0         41         35.7         +18         15.7         2.25****         133         164           is         304         13.5         255         83.9         37         12.2         -12         3.9         1.29         292           ineast         269         12.0         21         80.3         42         1.6         +9         3.3         84         278         1           ineast         210         9.3         13         47.1         14         20.0         -23         2.4         778         256           Intall         2.250         3.25         3.2         3.2         4.9         3.3         4.7         3.2 <t< td=""><td>New York</td><td>311</td><td>13.8</td><td>294</td><td>94.5</td><td>41</td><td>13.2</td><td>+24</td><td>7.7</td><td>3.15**</td><td>335</td><td>107.7</td><td>14.9</td></t<>	New York	311	13.8	294	94.5	41	13.2	+24	7.7	3.15**	335	107.7	14.9
Neest         17         80.9         18         20.2         + 1         1.1         1.1         1.1         90         1           Neest         174         7.7         139         79.9         25         14.4         -10         5.7         1.29         164           Neest         115         5.1         92         80.0         41         35.7         +18         15.7         2.25****         133         164           15         3.4         13.5         255         83.9         37         12.2         -12         3.9         1.29         292           1 Central         198         8.8         162         81.8         23         11.6         -13         6.6         1.69         185         185           1 Llantic         70         3.1         33         47.1         14         20.0         -23         32.9         32.9         32.4         47           1 ceast         2.1         3.3         47.1         14         20.0         -23         2.4         778         2.5           1 ceast         2.25         2.4         2.4         3.2         2.4         778         2.250	Pennsylvania	204	9.1	163	79.9	15	7.4	-26	12.7	3.47*	178	87.3	7.9
174   7.7   139   79.9   25   14.4   -10   5.7   1.29   164   11.5   11.5   11.5   11.5   11.5   11.5   11.5   11.5   11.5   11.2   11.2   11.5   11.5   11.5   11.5   11.5   11.6   1	0hio	89	4.0	72	80.9	<u>~</u>	20.2	+	1.1	.17	90	101.1	4.0
115   5.1   92   80.0   41   35.7   118   15.7   2.254***   133   134   13.5	Northwest	174	7.7	139	79.9	25	14.41	-10	5.7	1.29	164	94.3	7.3
trail         136         13.5         255         83.9         37         12.2         -12         3.9         1.29         292           trail         198         8.8         162         81.8         23         11.6         -13         6.6         1.69         185           tic         70         216         80.3         62         23.0         + 9         3.3         .84         278         1           tic         70         3.1         33         47.1         14         20.0         -23         32.9         3.22***         47           1         80         18         8.6         -5         2.4         .78         205           1         2,250         1,860         82.7         390         17.3         2,250	Southwest	115	5.1	92	80.0	41	35.7	+18	15.7	2.25***	133	115.7	5.9
tral 198 8.8 162 81.8 23 11.6 -13 6.6 1.69 185  269 12.0 216 80.3 62 23.0 + 9 3.3 .84 278 1  tic 70 3.1 33 47.1 14 20.0 -23 32.9 3.22*** 47  210 9.3 187 89.0 18 8.6 - 5 2.4 .78 205  1 2,250 1,860 82.7 390 17.3 2,250	Plains	304	13.5	255	83.9	37	12.2	-12	3.9	1.29	292	96.1	13.0
269 12.0 216 80.3 62 23.0 + 9 3.3 .84 278 1  tic 70 3.1 33 47.1 14 20.0 -23 32.9 3.22*** 47  210 9.3 187 89.0 18 8.6 - 5 2.4 .78 205  1 2,250 1,860 82.7 390 17.3 2,250	North Central	198	8.8	162	81.8	23	11.6	-13	9.9	1.69	185	93.4	8.2
tic 70 3.1 33 47.1 14 20.0 -23 32.9 3.22** 47 210 9.3 187 89.0 18 8.6 - 5 2.4 .78 205 1 2,250 1,860 82.7 390 17.3	Southeast	269	12.0	216	80.3	62	23.0	6 +	3.3	.84	278	103.3	12.4
210     9.3     187     89.0     18     8.6     - 5     2.4     .78     205       1     2,250     1,860     82.7     390     17.3     2,250	Mid-Atlantic	70	3.1	33	47.1	14	20.0	-23	32.9	$3.22^{**}$	47	67.1	2.1
2,250 1,860 82.7 390 17.3	Northeast	210	9.3	187	89.0	18	9.8	- 5	2.4	. 78	205	97.6	9.1
	Total	2,250		1,860	82.7	390	17.3				2,250		

\* Significant at the .001 level.

\*\* Significant at the .01 level.

\*\*\* Significant at the .05 level.



region made gains largely in affluent areas but gained in areas that were below average socioeconomically as well. These trends appear to be part of a general population trend that has been identified by the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1969). On the other hand, the entire territory from North Dakota southward to Kansas and eastward to Pennsylvania lost a steady flow of top talent regardless of the socioeconomic conditions of the area served by schools--the only exception was in Ohio where heavy losses occurred only among the most affluent families while a slight gain was made in attracting students at the average level. New York also lost heavily at all levels except among students from below average families. While the Northeast did well only in attracting students to its boarding schools, the Mid-Atlantic region gained students in areas that were well off economically, but lost students who were tested in areas judged to be below average economically. The Southeast region registered gains in the above average and average socioeconomic areas. The Northwest region held its own except among students attending schools serving average socioeconomic areas, where some gains were made.

# BLACKS

Migration data for the 8,162 sample of high scoring blacks are shown in Table 6. A pronounced trend evident in this table is the departure of academically talented blacks from the Southeast region. The flow of talent from this region largely went north to the Great Lakes and Mid-East regions, although a significant number also went west--most to California. On the other hand, very little eastern movement was noted away from the western region, the loyalty rate holding at 90%. The Great Lakes and Mid-East regions also did well in keeping their highly able blacks. Moreover, not only did the Great Lakes region draw well from the Southeast region, but a substantial number also went to that region from the Plains area. Because of the different NMSQT levels and the differences in regions, black and nonblack comparisons should be made only with considerable caution. It is noteworthy, however, that while the nonblacks departed from the Great Lakes states in significant numbers, the opposite trend was found for blacks.

Table 7 shows that a third of these bright blacks were born in the states included in the Southeast region. But the defectors from this region were many and there were few recruits. Although relatively few "brains" were born in the New England area, the rate of turnover in terms of recruits minus defectors was quite high. However, 42% of the new recruits were students at boarding schools.



Table 6

The Number and Percentage of Negro "Brains" who were Born and Tested in the Different Regions\*

		R	egion c	f Testi	ng		
Region of Birth	W	Plains	Great Lakes	Mid- East	New England	SE	Total Born
West	776 90.2 76.2	11 1.3 3.1	25 2.9 1.3	29 3.4 1.2	3 .3 1.1	16 1.9 .8	860
Plains	29 7.9 2.8	286 77.9 80.3	31 8.4 1.6	8 2.2 .3	.8 1.1	10 2.7 .5	367
Great Lakes	54 3.2 5.3	13 .8 3.7	1,539 90.5 77.7	42 2.5 1.7	11 .6 3.9	42 2.5 2.0	1,701
Mid-East	36 1.6 3.5	5 .2 1.4	51 2.2 2.6	2,101 91.3 86.1	36 1.6 12.7	73 3.2 3.5	2,302
New England	4 1.9 .4	1 .5 .3	1.9 .2	20 9.4 .8	177 83.5 62.5	6 2.8 .3	212
Southeast	119 4.4 11.7	40 1.5 11.2	330 12.1 16.7	239 8.8 9.8	53 1.9 18.7	1,939 71.3 93.0	2,720
Total Tested	1,318	<u>356</u>	1,980	2,439	283	2,086	8,162

<sup>\*</sup>The top percentage in each cell refers to the region of birth and should be read across the table; the bottom percentage in each cell refers to the region of testing and should be read down the column.

Table 8 shows that only 17% of these bright blacks attended schools serving areas that were rated above average socioeconomically, the biggest proportion of whom were born in the Mid-East region. About 45% went to schools serving average areas socioeconomically and 31% attended schools that were rated below average (Tables 9 and 10). Socioeconomic data were not available for schools attended by 7% of this black sample. Tables 8, 9, and 10 reveal that the Southeast lost heavily at all socioeconomic levels.

Of those attending schools serving below average socioeconomic areas, 45% were born in the Southeast. The Great Lakes area attracted the biggest proportion of these students who defected and the Mid-East was the second most popular area for defectors at this socioeconomic level. Heavy defection was also found for



Table 7

Migration of Negro "Brains" among the Different Regions in Terms of Loyalists, Recruits, and Defectors

	Born	Born in Region	Loy	oyalists	Rec	Recruits	Net (Recruits	Net unange (Recruits - Defectors)	Change Test	Tota	Total Tested in Region	, Region
	z	% of Total for all Regions	Z	% of Total Born in Region	   z	% of Total Born in Region	z	% of Total Born in Region	Critical Ratio	2	% of Total Born in Region	% of Total % of Total Born in all Region Regions
West	860	10.5	176	90.2	242	28.1	+158	18.4	8.75*	1,018	118.4	12.5
Plains	367	4.5	286	6.77	70	19.1	- 11	3.0	06.	356	97.0	4.4
Great Lakes	1,701	20.8	1,539	90.5	1441	25.9	+279	16.4	11.36*	1,980	116.4	24.3
fid-East	2,302	28.2	2,101	91.3	338	14.7	+137	6.0	5.90*	2,439	106.0	29.9
New England	212	2.6	177	83.5	901	50.0	+ 71	33.5	5.98*	233	133.5	3.5
Southeast	2,720	33.3	1,939	71.3	147	5.4	-634	23.3	20.81*	2,086	76.7	25.6
Total	8,162		6.818	83.5	1,344	16.5				8.162		

\* Significant at the .001 level.

Table 8

Migration of Negro "Brains" who Attended Schools Serving Above Average Areas Socioeconomically

	Born	Born in Region	Lo	Loyalists	Rec	Recruits	Net (Recruits	Net Change (Recruits - Defectors)	Change Test	Tota	Total Tested in Region	n Region
		% of Total		% of Total		% of Total		% of Total			% of Total	% of Total % of Total
	z	for all Regions	Z	Born in Region	z	Born in Region	z	Born in Region	Critical Ratio	z	Born in Region	all Regions
West	140	140 10.3	116	82.9	50	35.7	+ 26	18.6	3.02**	166	118.6	12.3
Plains	19	4.5	42	6.89	7	11.5	- 12	19.7	2.35***	49	80.3	3.6
Great Lakes	325	24.0	278	85.5	89	20.9	+ 21	6.5	1.96***	346	106.5	25.5
Mid-East	483	35.6	438	90.7	96	6.61	+ 51	10.6	4.30*	534	110.6	39.4
Ncw England	56	4.1	74	75.0	i, i,	78.6	+ 30	53.6	3.94*	98	153.6	6.3
Southeast	290	21.4	155	53.4	19	9.9	-116	40.0	9.35*	174	0.09	12.8
Total	1,355		1,071	79.0	284	21.0				1,355		

 $^{st}$  Significant at the .001 level.

\*\* Significant at the .01 level. \*\*\* Significant at the .05 level.

Table 9 Migration of Negro "Brains" who Attended Schools Serving Average Areas Socioeconomically

	Born	Born in Region	٥	Loyalists	Rec	Recruits	Net (Recruits	Net Change (Recruits - Defectors)	Change Test	Tota	Total Tested in Region	Region
	z	% of Total for all Regions	z	% of Total Born in Region	z	% of Total Born in Region	Z	% of Total Born in Region	Critical Ratio	z	% of Total Born in Region	% of Total all Regions
West	337	9.1	308	91.4	97	28.8	+ 68	20.2	£.06*	405	120.2	11.0
Plains	181	4.9	148	81.8	39	21.5	9	3.3	.71	187	103.3	5.1
Great Lakes	744	20.2	677	91.0	186	25.0	+119	16.0	7.48*	863	116.0	23.4
Mid-East	1,160	31.4	1,080	93.1	159	13.7	+ 79	6.8	5.11*	1,239	106.8	33.6
New England	110	3.0	95	86.4	28	25.5	+ 13	11.8	1.98***	123	111.8	3.3
Southeast	1,159	31.4	805	69.5	69	0.9	-285	24.6	13.86*	874	75.4	23.7
Total	3,691		3,113	84.3	578	15.7				3,691		

\* Significant at the .001 level. \*\*\* Significant at the .05 level.

Table 10 Migration of Negro "Brains" who Attended Schools Serving Below Average Areas Socioeconomically

	Born	Born in Region	Loy	Loyalists	Rec	Recruits	Net (Recruits	Net Change (Recruits - Defectors)	Change Test	Tota	Total Tested in Region	Region
	2	% of Total for all	2	% of Total Born in	2	% of Total Born in	2	% of Total Born in	Critical	2	% of Total % of Total Born in all	% of Total all
West	305	11.9	280	91.8	70	23.0	+ 45	+ 45 14.8	4.62*	350	114.8	13.7
Plains	110	4.3	91	82.7	23	20.9	+	3.6	.62	114	103.6	4.4
Great Lakes	503	19.6	462	91.8	136	27.0	+ 95	18.9	7.14*	598	118.9	23.3
Mid-East	470	18.3	415	88.3	28	12.3	+	9.	. 28	473	100.6	18.5
New England	25	1.0	20	80.0	9	24.0	+	4.0	.30	26	104.0	1.0
Southeast	1,150	6.44	776	82.1	58	5.0	-148	12.9	9.11*	1,002	87.1	39.1
Total	2,563		2,212	86.3	351	13.7	ļ		j	2,563		

\* Significant at the .001 level.

Southeast born students to Great Lakes schools in average socioeconomic areas. Besides the New England area, the Mid-East and the West did well in recruiting students to areas rated above average socioeconomically.

Overall, the Plains region held its own in this great turnover of black talent. Some defection occurred but enough recruits were attracted to just about offset the talent loss. By far the biggest proportion of its recruits came from the Southeast.

#### DISCUSSION

Does an evaluation of top scorers on an academic ability test really provide information about migration trends? Are interstate or interregional brain~gains or brain-drains really involved? An important problem concerns the effects that schools versus home environments have in the development of top-flight academic brains. Of course both play an important part. But if good schools are the key factor in developing "brains," then it is conceivable that some students were identified as such in this study because they migrated to areas with better school systems and that others would have been high scorers had they attended high quality schools. Whether good students would be identified as brains would then be a function of which states or regions they left and which areas they moved to at what stage of their education.

Relevant to this point is the fact that, in contrast to other students, the bright nonblack achiever typically comes from a family of higher socioeconomic status—his parents have more education, the family income is higher, and his father is more likely employed in the professions (Watley, a).

In this study, only 4% of the "brains" attended schools judged to be serving below average socioeconomic areas. It appears then that students who are identified in high school as academic "brains" are typically individuals who have had the advantages of both an academically nourishing home environment and good schools. They attended schools of higher quality regardless of where they lived. Therefore, this study does seem to have provided meaningful migration data for youth functioning at the very highest level of academic brainpower.

Relevant also is the fact that high test scorers on academic ability tests are more frequently found in ethnic groups where high social, educational, economic, and professional attainments are found. Jews, for example, produce more than their share of test-bright children, while Negroes, Mexicans, and American Indians produce less. Nevertheless, like the white "brain," the bright black achiever also tends to come from a family of higher socioeconomic status than



his less test-bright peer (Watley, b). In his study of graduates of predominantly Negro colleges, Fichter (1967) summed the matter up in this way:

"...the better educated Negro parents have provided certain advantages for their children. They undoubtedly anticipated their children's higher education and saw to it that they took the college preparatory curriculum in high school. In this regard, the upper class Negro students have a high school curriculum proportionately similar to that of the white students. ...The economic, occupational and educational status of Negro parents obviously has a great influence on the academic aspirations and experiences of their children. In contrast, it is remarkable that any of the children of lower class Negro parents ever manage to attend and finish college" (p. 48).

While those scoring highest on academic ability tests typically have been nourished in economically favored homes and schools, the question remains largely unanswered regarding the extent to which a good school can offset an unfavorable home atmosphere academically or vice versa. Undoubtedly some students not identified as academic "brains" in this study would have attained that status if only they had been able to attend higher quality schools, while perhaps others would have attained high scores if their home conditions had been different. But because the "brains" in this study were "advantaged" in terms of both home and school, the conclusion seems justified that the migration trends noted are meaningful.



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